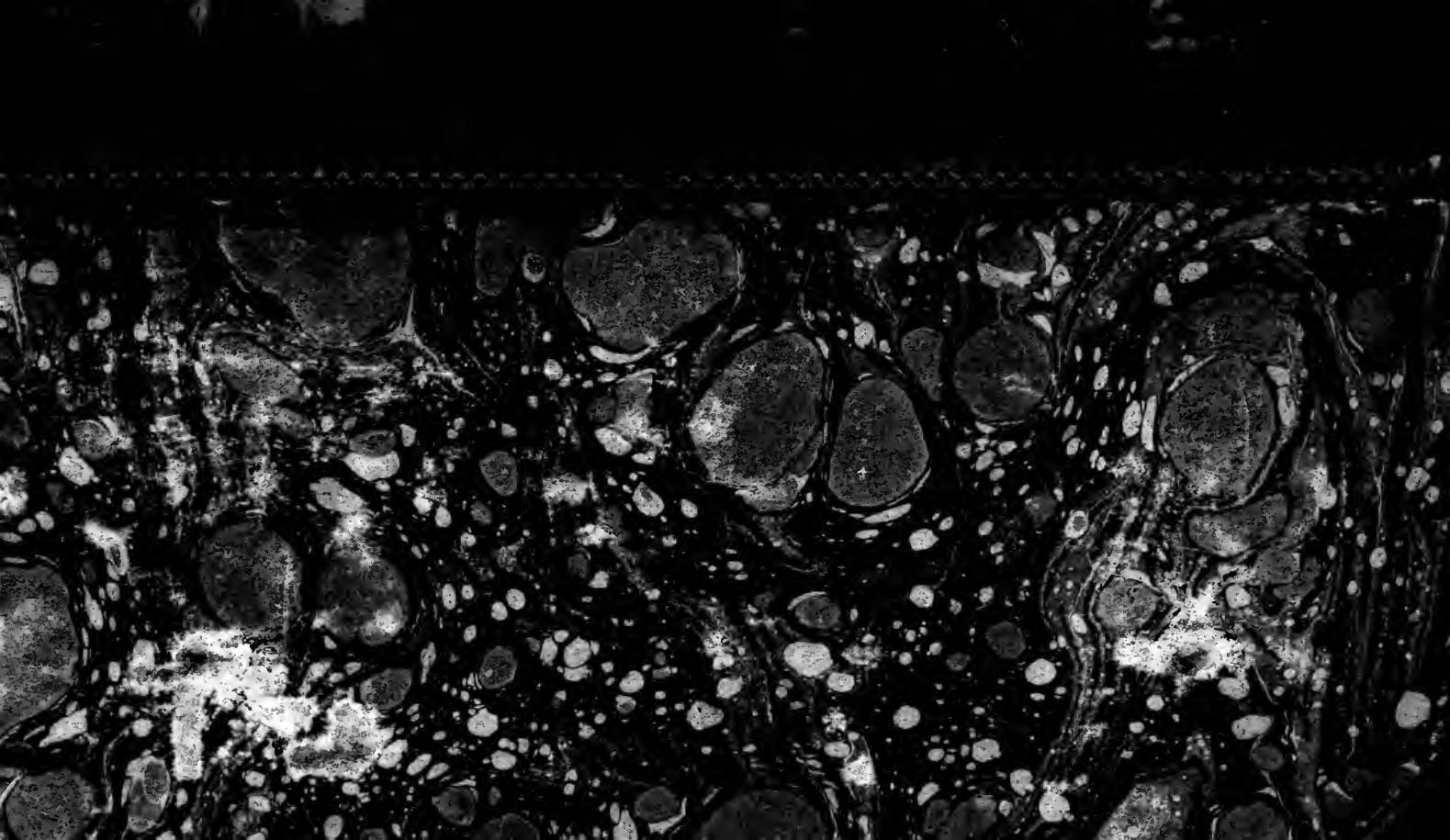

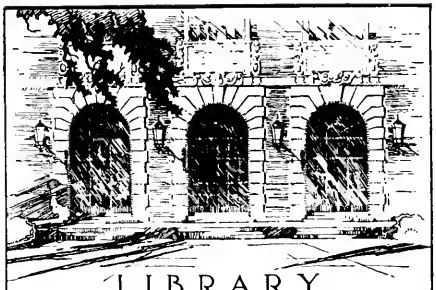

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REPORT

OF THE PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

ANNUAL DINNER

OF THE

COBDEN CLUB,

JULY 23rd, 1870.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,

The Premier,

IN THE CHAIR.

WITH LIST OF MEMBERS.

MANCHESTER: ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO.
1870.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE Cobden Club met this year under circumstances of peculiar discouragement.

Mr. Gladstone had been invited to preside at the dinner in the hope that under his auspices, at a moment when after a period of severe depression throughout Europe, there appeared to be a prospect of renewed industrial activity, some means might have been devised in concert with the distinguished foreign members of the club, which were expected to be present, of turning to account its international organisation, in giving a new impulse to the productive forces of the world, by the extension of free exchange, and in thus promoting the agencies of peace.

The outbreak of a war which Europe hoped might have been averted, rudely dispelled this hope; nevertheless, this anniversary meeting of the club was neither useless nor inappropriate.

It is especially needful in such times as these, when the real interests and destiny of our race are forgotten in the excitements of war, and in the momentary ascendency of passion over reason, that those who believe in the principles of civilisation, with which the name of Cobden is associated, should once more enter their protest against their wanton violation, should assert again the broad claims of humanity at large, and of the masses of the people in every country, as opposed to the narrow and selfish interests of classes and nationalities, and above all should pronounce their unshaken faith in the final prevalence of the truths which they profess.

Mr. Gladstone has rendered to the club an inestimable service in taking upon himself on this occasion the office of its president, and in giving to the ideas and feelings which animated the meeting the most appropriate and eloquent expression.

It is with a view of placing upon record, in a more complete and enduring shape than by a newspaper report, Mr. Gladstone's memorable address, and of extending its influence to a wider audience, that the committee has printed the following report of the proceedings of the 23rd July.

The committee feel that the publication of Mr.

Gladstone's just and discriminating appreciation of Mr. Cobden's political character is the best answer which can be made to the narrow and superficial criticisms which have been passed upon it by some of the principal organs of the London press, in connection with the recent meeting of the club.

The charge has been revived once more, which his friends had hoped not to be called on again to repel, that with all his admitted acuteness, Cobden was the victim of an amiable but foolish enthusiasm, which led him to think that the increased commercial intercourse of nations which has resulted from the partial adoption of the free trade policy, had rendered war a thing of the past, and that the time had arrived for the nations of the earth to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks.

Cobden certainly believed (and in this he only shared the opinion of most reasonable men, for it is nothing more than a dictate of common sense) that in proportion as countries could be led to exchange their products freely, to multiply the points of contact between them, and to extend their common interests, so would the chances of war diminish, and the guarantees of peace be increased and strengthened.

He may also have believed (although this is an

assumption, for his mind was too practical to indulge much in abstract speculation), that if ever a time should come, when all the barriers that obstruct the intercourse of nations were removed, and the material interests of all placed under the safeguard of a common freedom (a state of things, be it observed, which necessarily implies the largest measure of popular government, the widest diffusion of intelligence, and the emancipation of the working classes from all unjust and unequal laws), the causes of war would be reduced within such narrow limits, as to relieve the civilised communities of the old world from the curse of standing armies.

But it requires a very perverse ingenuity and a strange absence of logic to discover, in the events passing before us, anything which in any degree impugns the wisdom of either view.

Two great nations have been brought into deadly conflict—the *one,* exhibiting in its worst forms the evil effects of protracted personal rule—and misled at last in a final attempt to resist the progress of popular government, by an appeal to some of its least noble passions—its false patriotism, and its pretension to European preponderance. The other just emerging from one of the most artificial and complicated political systems ever imposed on a people by courts and diplo-

matists—opposed and thwarted in the necessary development of its national life by foreign rivalry, and thus compelled to accept the guidance of a military government, which has too often invoked the aid of blood and iron in working out the national salvation.

It would be satisfactory to know by what process of reasoning the insufficiency or unsoundness of Cobden's principles are to be deduced from this lamentable occurrence.

In the case before us, the conditions which, in Cobden's view, would have tended to prevent war, are altogether absent; and it may be safely asserted, that the more the causes of the present war are analysed, the more it will be found, that instead of pointing a moral opposed to his principles, they afford the most instructive illustration of the danger of their systematic violation.

The memory of Cobden can suffer little from such petty cavillings, but it is not well that they should pass unnoticed, for the sake of that class of our countrymen who are too easily misled by superficial statements.

The same public instructors are abroad, who were unable to perceive that slavery had anything to do with the civil war in America, and who will endeavour to persuade us now that the violation of the principles

of political and commercial freedom have nothing to do with the impending conflict. We shall be told again that man is a fighting animal—that humanity is the same in the nineteenth as in preceding centuries—that passion is a stronger motive than self-interest in human affairs; but there are, nevertheless, among us, many who will still continue to believe that the material union, and the mutual inter-dependence of nations are among the most powerful agencies of peace—that war is not a normal or necessary condition of the relations of civilised communities—that free institutions and free trade, in tending to efface national distinctions, will tend also to dry up the sources of national discord; and that the course of human progress, however grievously it may be checked in Europe, will not be long arrested even by the present war.

THE COBDEN CLUB.

THE annual dinner of this club took place on the evening of the 23rd July, at the Ship Tavern, Greenwich. The majority of the members, with a number of distinguished visitors, assembled shortly before five o'clock at the House of Commons stairs, whence they proceeded in the steamer specially provided to their destination.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., the Premier, presided, and Mr. Thomas B. Potter, M.P., occupied the vice-chair. They were supported by the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor (Lord Hatherley), the Hon. John Bigelow (United States), M. Emile de Laveleye (Belgium), Chevalier de Schaeffer (Austrian Legation), Signor Bosch (Second Secretary of the Spanish Legation), Baron Melvil de Lynden, Cyrus M. Fisher (United States), Signor Arturo de Marcoartu, the Duke of St. Albans, Earl Dalhousie, Lord Houghton, Sir Joseph Whitworth, Bart., Sir Louis Mallet, C.B., James Caird, C.B., and the gentlemen whose names are indicated by

an asterisk in the list of members at the end of the report.

Grace was said by the Rev. Edwin Hatch, and the Rev. Alton Hatchard returned thanks.

Mr. GLADSTONE said:—My lords and gentlemen,—Your loyal hearts anticipate the toast which is about to be announced from my lips. In the age in which we live there are still remaining abundant sources of strength for the principle of monarchy. (Cheers.) Sometimes it is consecrated by ancient traditions, associated with all that makes the name of our country dear, and the origin of which is lost in ages most remote. Sometimes it is recommended even where it has not those advantages of ancient recollection, by the conviction that appears to govern the mind of Europe, that by this rather than by any other form of government, the difficulties attending the supremacy of power are best encountered. (Hear, hear.) Sometimes it is also felt that monarchy wears its most gracious aspect where it is united, as in our case, to personal conduct that may fairly be held up to the entire community as a model of virtuous and exemplary practice. (Cheers.) It is our good fortune, my lords and gentlemen, that every one of these sources of strength and influence are happily combined in the person of our

beloved and gracious Sovereign. (Cheers.) I commend her name to you with no other preface than "God bless the Queen Victoria." (Loud cheers.) The toast having been drunk with enthusiasm,—

Mr. GLADSTONE rose to propose the toast of the evening. He said: My lords and gentlemen,—I rise for the purpose of proposing to you that you should drink "Prosperity to the Cobden Club." (Cheers.) And, gentlemen, it is with unaffected sincerity that I express to you the wish that this task, which in my view is worthy of the most distinguished that you could find to undertake it, had fallen into the hands of one less exhausted than myself—("no, no")—by the protracted labours of office—(cheers)—for I feel that the freshest mind, the most copious and the most accurate thought, might well be given to illustrate and to set forth the ideas that are connected with the meeting of to-day. (Hear, hear.) If on any other occasion of a public gathering, it is true upon this occasion, that those who have to recommend to you the principal toast of the evening need not fall back into the region of common place. (Hear, hear.) You are here to commemorate no mere empty name—(cheers)—but a name which is associated, in the first place, with the recollection of splendid

services performed on behalf of his own country, and on behalf of mankind—(cheers)—and, in the next place, with anticipations still more brilliant than those services, for the eye of Mr. Cobden went far into the future, and he perceived in their dim commencement, and in their embryo forms, ideas that will hereafter mainly govern the relations of great communities. (Cheers.)

I hope, my lords and gentlemen, you will not think I pay you a bad compliment when I say, that never, I believe, was there a man who lived and fulfilled his career on this earth, who less needed than the distinguished person under whose name you are united, that a special association should be formed for the purpose of preserving his fame. (Hear, hear.) His fame carried within itself the principle of its own preservation—(cheers)—and as long as civilisation lasts it could not die. The works that he had done, the truths that he had proclaimed or anticipated, were so profoundly associated with the welfare of mankind, and in particular with the welfare of the masses of mankind—nay, were so profoundly associated, not merely with the increase of material wealth, but with the predominance of the highest moral principles, that until the powers of evil shall wholly eclipse and extinguish the powers of good,

we may rest confident in the belief that, whatever becomes of any particular association, mankind will not be so ungrateful as to forget the name of our illustrious friend. (Cheers.)

There are many of us, my lords and gentlemen, who remember Mr. Cobden,—there are many of us who had the honour and privilege of calling him friend—there are many of us who knew the breadth, the power, the purity, the simplicity of his character—(cheers)—and who were tempted to murmur at that dispensation of Providence which removed him, too early as we thought, from amongst us, for we grudged the loss of all that instruction which we believed to be locked in his mind, and which might have proceeded from his lips and his pen. (Cheers.) But it was a higher Power,—it was a less erring judgment, that determined the moment at which the lot of his life was fulfilled. To us it is left to turn to account, as well as we can, the heritage which he left—(hear, hear)—to cherish the memory of his virtues and his deeds, and to endeavour, if we can, to extract from them the means of future benefit for this and other generations. (Cheers.)

My lords and gentlemen,—It is impossible in meeting you on an occasion of this kind not to

admit, and to admit with grief and concern too deep for words, that the moment is not that which best harmonises with the associations and that spirit of peace which belonged to the name of Mr. Cobden. (Hear, hear.) Within the last few days has gone forth, as with the voice of trumpets, the proclamation of war,—the proclamation of war between two of the greatest military powers in Europe, between two of the nations most civilised and most distinguished—two nations whose names and history are inextricably, inseparably mixed with the history of all that is great and good in the past records of Christendom—(hear, hear)—two nations fitted with the apparatus of destruction in a greater state of perfectness perhaps than ever has been known, and animated with those motives of unshrinking patriotism in the masses of the people which, however innocent, however honourable, however admirable they may be in themselves, as they dwell in the individual breast, we cannot witness without commiseration when we reflect on the bloody record that so much human energy will probably leave upon many fields of battle before this lamentable war has run its course. (Hear, hear.) It is not for us who are here assembled, still less is it for me in the office I have the honour unworthily

to hold — (no, no) — to attempt to anticipate the judgment of posterity upon the great events that are now of daily occurrence. (Hear, hear.) But this I may say, without assuming the office of dispenser of praise or blame, to which I am totally unequal, that the pen of the historian will, I believe, hereafter relate that among all the wars by which the course of the 19th century has been chequered there is none more unspeakably tragic—(hear, hear)—more unmixedly sorrowful, more full of every painful association for those who love their kind, than that war which is at this moment prevailing. (Cheers.) May it be tempered by the humane spirit of civilisation; may it be narrowed and restricted by the wisdom of those who are mercifully exempted from its range—(cheers)—and may the Almighty who disposes the hearts of men, turn towards peace and mercy the hearts of those upon whom it shall depend how long the rivers of human blood are to flow, and how long earth is to blush for the follies of those who live from her breast. (Loud cheers.)

My lords and gentlemen,—this association, over and above all others, may justly profess that it takes no note of international distinctions. (Hear, hear.) We are here as Christians—we are here as brothers—we are here as men—(cheers)—we are here upon the

broadest ground of which the conditions of humanity admit, and that is the ground marked out for us by the man whose name is commemorated in the title of this association. (Cheers.) I am glad to think that even as we now meet there are those assembled round this board who testify to the breadth of character and ideas that belong to the Cobden Club. From France and from Germany we should have found on this occasion illustrious friends, had their approach to us not been intercepted by the calamitous circumstances of war. (Hear, hear.) I have in my hand a letter from M. Michael Chevalier, whose name is well known to you as one of the most distinguished, most ardent, most intelligent, and most consistent of the friends of Mr. Cobden—(hear, hear)—in which he deeply laments that the duties imposed upon him by his political position have, at the last moment, made it impossible for him to appear, and I think that those more immediately connected with the official duties of the Club will be able to tell you that both from France and Germany similar testimonies could be rendered. I rejoice to think that that country near to us, limited in its extent, secondary in population, but illustrious in history, and dear to Europe for the example it presents—(cheers)—the country of

Belgium, is represented at this board as you would wish it to be. (Loud cheers.) I rejoice also to think that that great power, across the broad Atlantic, which has already asserted and demonstrated its own capacity to weld an entire continent into a single State is well represented at this board—(cheers)—and, in truth, gentlemen, I feel, that often as you may meet round the hospitable board, you will find, not merely from rational conviction, but from corporeal evidence in the presence of illustrious strangers, that the world-wide character and capacity of this institution, and of the man whose name it bears, are acknowledged wherever civilisation spreads. (Cheers.)

My lords and gentlemen,—Mr. Cobden was a man whose mind was too large to be confined to a narrow range of subjects. (Hear, hear.) I do not deny that he was one whose intense interest, in the matters to which his powerful intellect was applied, was of an absorbing character; but yet, when we put together all the particulars of those various subjects to which at different times he applied his attention, we see that nothing could be a greater error than to treat him as a man of one idea. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, nothing to him was foreign that really embraced the welfare and the interests of human kind. (Cheers.)

Mr. Cobden never failed in his attachment to his own country. If his pulse had not beat more quickly when the name of England was mentioned, he never could have been what he was. (Cheers.) No blessing or benefit will ever attend the efforts of those who lay the foundations of a cosmopolitan philanthropy upon any abnegation of their own land. That which we assert for ourselves we acknowledge for others. (Hear, hear.) We do not expect, we do not wish, those distinguished men who sit here, and who owe their birth to other lands to feel the same interest in our country as in their own; but while we cherish those particular attachments, we assert that though they may be the beginning, they ought not to be the end, and while we rear our convictions within them, we ought also to extend those convictions beyond them. Such convictions, with the intellectual process by which they are accompanied never can have their perfect work as long as they recognise war, or set up walls of separation to divide nation from nation, as if the interests of the one were irreconcileable with the interests of the other by some law of history established as the condition of human life, instead of being perfectly reconcileable as they are by that law of peace and brotherhood which is the glory of

the people and the greatest triumph of human nature. (Cheers.)

Now, my lords and gentlemen, no doubt we shall all be disposed to admit that which I take even to be the general opinion, that Mr. Cobden was a man gifted with a singular endowment of political prevision. (Hear, hear.) For my own part, though it has been my happy fortune to know and to be associated with many public men of great distinction during the last thirty or forty years, men whose names I believe will be honourably remembered by posterity, I do not know there has been one among them who has had so much of that special and eminently precious gift of insight into the future as Mr. Cobden. (Hear, hear.)

But it may be said, and it is true, that this club, whilst it recognises the breadth and scope that characterised Mr. Cobden in general, has also an especial regard to those subjects with which his name is peculiarly associated. (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt it was as the apostle of free-exchange, if I may so say, that Mr. Cobden was principally known both in this and other lands. Nor do I wish in any manner to qualify that admission, except by this assertion appended to it, that Mr. Cobden's mind was of far too elevated a cast to be confined at any period to mere

calculations as to the increase of wealth. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Cobden knew that, if wealth is precious as a means of procuring comfort, it is likewise perilous as an idol and a snare, and unless it is used for the benefit of mankind, it is a curse to its possessor. But Mr. Cobden had a larger view of that political economy, of which he was amongst the best, the most enlightened, and powerful professors. No doubt he recommended the preaching and teaching throughout the length and breadth of the land of that doctrine of free exchange which is at the foundation of our rapid, certain, and continuous increase of wealth; but he brought to the service of that cause his ardent and devoted character, not for the mere sake of multiplying millions, but for the pecuniary benefit of the masses. His eye surveyed the condition of mankind, and he felt how large a proportion of his brethren and sisters had difficulty in supplying themselves with the necessaries of life—(hear, hear)—and he wished to substitute for the crushing, grinding poverty, which has been the lot of so large a portion of society, a reasonable abundance, earned by honest labour. (Cheers.)

But Mr. Cobden was also a politician, and I need not say he was a Liberal politician—(hear, hear)—yet he

was not a man who could be supposed, in any way, to look with a jealous eye upon any privileged order or ancient institution. He took, and took faithfully, the institutions of his country as he found them; but he wished to bind together the people of this land by cementing them in a bond of friendship and affection, and he felt that the performance of his great work—the work of futurity—while it aimed at the creation of wealth, was a work of eternal justice to all. (Cheers.) He felt that the performance of that work would,on the whole, contribute to harmonise all masses of this great community, and it was for this moral and social purpose, which he never lost from his view, that the mission he took upon himself in connection with the promotion of industry, and the development of capital in the country, derived its noble characteristics. (Cheers.)

I know not what is to be the immediate effect of the ideas of Mr. Cobden; but of one thing I am perfectly certain, and that is, that while we Englishmen, who have received from him, as it were, a special commission and a special charge, while we endeavour to be diligent in performing the duties of that commission, and in testifying to the soundness of the principles which he recommended for governing the intercourse of nations, I am quite certain we should

commit a fundamental error if we were ever in such a manner to recommend those principles, as to give the slightest countenance to that error, for which I think we are ourselves in a great degree responsible—that error which prevails among many persons abroad, and in many countries, namely, that free trade, as it is called popularly, is a very good thing for England, but a very bad thing for the rest of the world. (Hear, hear.)

Now, I do not think we are very much better, or very much wiser, than our neighbours—on the contrary, I am ready to confess that in various important respects we are less wise, and instead of being better, are inferior to our neighbours—(hear, hear)—but every country has its own special work, and it seems to be the wise design of Providence to employ each country in solving, and working out practically, certain social, moral, and political problems for the advantage of other countries. (Hear, hear.) They are, as it were, put through the fire in order to try the effect of the process, and when they come out, the experience they have had is placed on record for the benefit of mankind. (Cheers.) None went more deeply, more passionately, more obstinately into the system of protection than ourselves; none clung to

it more fondly, and none suffered from it more deeply. (Hear, hear.) No country has ever felt, and no country, I believe, can ever feel, the mischiefs of that system more than we have done, not only in its immediate and economical aspect, but in the manner in which for the last 25 years it disturbed—though its disturbing operation has now happily in a great degree gone by—the whole working of the Parliamentary institutions of the country. (Hear, hear.)

What we hope is, that other nations of the world will not be too proud to observe and profit by our experience, and to appropriate to themselves its results, without paying for them the price which we have been content to pay. (Hear, hear.) What I am propounding is no fanciful, paradoxical doctrine. It is so in a thousand other ways. Take, for example, railway communication. There is, no doubt, that by England—I am not speaking for America, but as far as Europe is concerned—there is no doubt that the whole of the great problem of railway communication has been solved in England for years, and the consequence is, that, while we are compelled to admit that in developing that system we have managed, somehow or other, to throw £100,000,000 into the sea—or, being nearer to the windows of the Houses of Parliament, to throw it

into the river Thames, it has been open to every other country to watch our proceedings, to profit by our blunders, to avoid the obstacles and dangers we had to encounter, and to secure to themselves the same benefits that we have secured, without paying the same price for them.

So I trust it may be in the subject of free-trade. I think it is impossible for a man calmly regarding that question not to see that, on the whole, it is a sound and undeniable truth, whatever may be said of peculiar and exceptional cases,—and even with respect to those I should be most jealous—that by free exchange,—by observing those qualities of soil, climate, and condition which fit particular countries for producing particular commodities, and by establishing to the utmost degree, without the intervention of obstacles imposed by law, that faculty of exchange among mankind—we do the most in our power to fulfil what we must conceive to be the design of a benevolent Providence, namely, that the gifts which this earth pours forth in profuse abundance shall be made available to the utmost for the comfort and happiness of His creatures. (Cheers.)

And that is not all. I spoke just now of the view with which Mr. Cobden prosecuted his great mission at home

as the apostle of free-trade. When he assailed the gigantic error—we might almost say the gigantic iniquity of the Corn Laws, he looked not merely to the economical results, but to the political and social harmony which was to result from the working of a system of free-trade; and when the patriotic Briton cast his gaze beyond the shores of his own country, and considered the relations which bound together the nations of the civilised world, he saw that by removing that canker of injustice from the mind of the people he was, in the prosecution of what was apparently a mere material object, attaining a great moral end, not only for his own country but for the world, by enlarging the intercourse of foreign countries. (Cheers.)

That intercourse, as he knew, was an exchange of benefits. It is not that one country extorts from another that which another reluctantly yields as the dictate of an imperious necessity; but that each freely and intelligently gives to each that which each can best afford, and for which it receives in return far more than the value. (Hear, hear.) In performing that process human beings are brought into contact with one another; relations of kindliness are formed; units of each community, that gradually swell into crowds, become acquainted with corresponding units similarly swelling into crowds in

other communities; a friendly spirit grows and spreads where formerly prejudice and hostility had prevailed; the tone of public opinion is by degrees modified—softened—harmonised, and melody instead of discord rises from all the countries of Europe. (Cheers.)

And even now, my lords and gentlemen, notwithstanding the dark and saddening circumstances of the hour, which render it almost impossible—I speak for myself—to raise the mind to any kind of cheerful anticipation—(hear, hear)—even now, amidst all this discouragement and bitter disappointment, this weeping and blushing for the 19th century—(loud cheers)—in which we have lived, and for which we have lived, and the history of which we have desired to hand down without a stain—even now, I believe that the great permanent principles associated with the name which your club is proud to bear, have a deeper and firmer foundation than any momentary follies, or any heated passions of mankind—(cheers)—that after this cloud has passed away, and this storm has burst, and the atmosphere of the civilised world has regained its equilibrium, the principles you seek to promote will make their progress along with the progress of knowledge and intelligence in every nation of the civilised globe, and will from year to year, from

generation to generation, write deeper and deeper their happy record upon the breasts of a grateful mankind. (Loud cheers.)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My lords and gentlemen,—A difficult task has been imposed upon me in having to propose a toast, and in attempting to make a speech, after the address which you have just listened to. I shall not attempt to follow in the track which has been cut out by my right hon. friend, because I feel that no effort of mine can keep up that state of feeling which you have just experienced in listening to the address which has been delivered. But the subject which I have to present to your notice is one which I believe will command your deepest sympathy. I have, my lords and gentlemen, to propose to you "the health of the foreign members of the club"—(loud cheers)—and to couple with that toast the name of the Hon. Mr. Bigelow, who has done a good deal to promote the objects of the club in America. (Cheers.)

It may be regretted by all that the principles of Mr. Cobden have not made as much progress in America as could be desired, but I hope that before long those principles will be more extensively appreciated and prized in that country.

We have also present a distinguished gentleman

from Belgium, M. de Lavelaye, who has done much to promulgate the principles of Mr. Cobden on the continent. (Cheers.)

For myself, I place great reliance on the principles which Cobden advocated, and I am certain that as soon as they become understood, they will be universally prized and adopted.

Although I have not mixed much in politics, I have paid a good deal of attention to all the great questions that have agitated the public mind for no small number of years. As far back as 1815, my attention was first turned to corn-law questions. I read, about that period, Adam Smith for the first time, and that was the original cause of my taking up the principles to which I have ever since adhered. (Cheers.) At that time there existed slavery in our colonies, religious tests in our own country, Roman Catholic Disabilities, the protection laws, and an unreformed Parliament. Since then all those impediments to progress have been swept away, and now the principles of justice and right meet with pretty general approval. I have no doubt the great principles with which Mr. Cobden's name was associated have done much to accomplish this happy change. Those principles, so far as they relate to free trade, I can recommend both to my friend on the right,

M. de Laveleye, and on the left, the Hon. Mr. Bigelow. (Cheers.)

It is but too true that the peace of Europe is disturbed, and that the carrying forward of Mr. Cobden's desire, for the fraternisation of mankind is for the present far from realisation. I will not attempt to offer an opinion on one side or the other as to the circumstances which have led to the war, but I will venture to say—or rather I will venture to prophesy—that the country which shall triumph in the contest will be certainly and assuredly the country that is in the right. (A laugh.) I hope that success will attend that country which is most imbued with, and desirous of acting upon, the principles which Mr. Cobden held so dear at heart. I had the honour of knowing Mr. Cobden, and I have a great attachment for the principles which he promulgated. I believe that the more those principles are kept before the eyes of the world the better it will be for mankind, and the greater will be the service rendered to Him who gave us life and being. (Cheers.)

The Hon. Mr. BIGELOW, on rising, was loudly cheered. He said, Mr. Gladstone, my lords, and gentlemen—I feel highly honoured in having my name associated with the toast, and in being allowed to take ever so

humble a part in commemorating the memory of Mr. Cobden. I had the privilege of being able to call him my friend. I enjoyed the acquaintance of the lamented gentleman, not for a long period, it is true, but whilst it lasted it was rather intimate. It was when my country was steeped in the affairs of war. I then became acquainted for the first time with the breadth of sympathy, the soundness of understanding, and the love of humankind which distinguished Richard Cobden above all other men I have ever known. (Cheers.)

I feel proud and happy to see that it is quite unnecessary for anybody to interpret the enthusiasm of the English nation for the memory of Mr. Cobden. That enthusiasm is well represented this evening.

The noble and learned lord who has just sat down has made some allusion to my country, and the little progress which Mr. Cobden's principles have made in America. Now, I have some apology to make on that head. I am not in the habit of praising the legislation of my country, or the wisdom of her government, and am not going to do so now, but I am bound to say that as I hold the opinions of Mr. Cobden greatly at heart, I am sorry, indeed, that those principles have not taken extensive root in my country up to the present time.

It must be remembered, however, that the United

States have passed through great troubles of late; that we have just emancipated many millions of our fellow-citizens, that we have been under the necessity of exercising for a long time great forbearance and patience in bringing about a recognition of the different portions of the Union under one banner, and that it was not until the present that our nation could look upon itself as in a concentrated and somewhat satisfactory position, politically and financially.

The policy and acts of the Legislature, at Washington, during the past winter, show, I think, that the days of protection are fast drawing to a close, and there is good reason to believe that ere long the principles of Cobden will penetrate the minds of the great mass of the American people. (Cheers.)

In the present state of Europe there is a particular reason why the principles of Cobden should be kept before the public of all countries. I hope that England will keep out of the contest that has just commenced; but if she is unhappily drawn into it, I think the people of this country may place every reliance on the distinguished statesman who is now at the head of affairs. (Cheers.)

Sir L. MALLET: I rise to propose a toast which will, I doubt not, be cordially received by this assembly—

"The writers of the Essays on Land Tenure published during the present year by the Cobden Club."

As a member of the committee to which was delegated the task of devising and preparing the volume, I have a peculiar pleasure in thanking the writers of the essays for the able manner in which they have discharged the task which they undertook, and for the valuable service which they have rendered to the club by these contributions.

It was felt by the committee, in view of the complex and difficult problems surrounding the question of land law reform, and of the wide divergence of opinion even among their own body, that it was necessary for the club, in issuing the volume, to maintain a strictly neutral attitude, and not to attempt the advocacy of particular measures.

It has, therefore, been no slight satisfaction to some of us to find that, without any concert or communication between them, writing under totally different conditions, and treating of totally different systems, these eminent authorities all agree in presenting, as the one thing needful, the removal of all restraint (whether by entail, or settlement, by unregistered titles, and all the cumbrous forms of conveyance, so dear to lawyers, and so hateful to economists,) upon the sale and purchase of

land. This is what Cobden meant by "free trade in land."

There is one other feature in the volume to which I may, perhaps, be allowed to refer. It must be admitted that the English system of land tenure, whatever may be its merits or defects, presents many characteristics of an exceptional and local nature. It was one of the chief objects of the club, in the publication of their volume, to supply information drawn from a wider experience than that of any one particular country, and thus to impart to their work, that international character, which ought to belong to everything which emanates from a body bearing the name of the "international man."

I have much pleasure in coupling with this toast, my lords and gentlemen, the name of M. Emile de Laveleye, a gentleman whose claims to our regard you will, I am sure, cordially recognise, not only on account of his eminent services as an enlightened economist and liberal politician, and as one to whose future sympathy and co-operation we confidently look, in our international work, but also as the representative here to-night of a country which has been conspicuous for its adhesion to the cause of free exchange.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I must add my testimony to the

distinguished services which the writers of those essays have rendered, one of the most able of whom sits on my right, M. de Laveleye. (Cheers.)

M. de LAVELEYE returned thanks in French. He said he attached very great importance to the principles which Mr. Cobden taught. They were, to his mind, principles which applied to all countries, and to all the divisions of mankind alike. They were principles which tended to the reduction of armaments, and the suppression of all warlike tendencies, and were such as could be applicable to all ages. They were principles which were recognised equally in the commercial chambers of England, of France, and of Belgium, and of all continental nations. They led to the abolition of everything that interfered with the freedom of commerce, and the well-being of the human race. He hoped that the immortal principles associated with the name of Mr. Cobden would before many years overspread the whole earth. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. T. B. POTTER, M.P., who was received with much cheering, proposed the chairman's health in the following terms: It is my pleasant task, on behalf of the committee of the Cobden Club, to propose the health of the right hon. gentleman who has this day presided over our meeting.

I cannot forget that when the Cobden Club was started in 1866, its origin rested with a right hon. gentleman whose absence all of us regret. I mean the President of the Board of Trade. (Loud and prolonged cheering, Mr. Gladstone rising to his feet and leading off the plaudits.) There is no one here but will join me in regretting the illness which has kept that distinguished orator and statesman from his place in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) In 1866 the suggestion of such a club as this came from him, and I remember that the first member in the House of Commons whom I asked to join the club was our chairman and our Premier. (Cheers.) His acquiescence and his support encouraged me, and you will remember that his interest was so great that he did us the honour to preside over the first dinner.

I may tell you that long before I entered Parliament, I heard Richard Cobden say that Mr. Gladstone had always been a progressive reformer, and that, as a public man, he should not be judged by the point from which he started. (Laughter.)

There is no doubt that Mr. Gladstone has led the Liberal party to victories it would not otherwise have achieved. You have only to look at the industry, the tact, and temper he has shown in the

House of Commons, and at the measures he has carried during the last two years to find proof of his capacity. (Cheers.)

The House of Commons is grateful to him, and so is the country; and although we are now passing through difficult times, and war threatens Europe with devastation, we feel confidence that the right hon. gentleman will steer our country through the dangers that surround us, and enable us to maintain a strict and honourable neutrality—(loud cheers)—and when the turmoil of war is passed, he will lead us to further victories under the banner of our club—"Free Trade, Peace, Goodwill among Nations." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said: I am deeply grateful to you and to my friend Mr. Potter, for the hearty manner in which this toast has been given. It would be very wrong if I were to expatiate upon the feelings which are aroused within me. A first offence is pardonable; a second always entails a severer penalty. I have offended once to-night. (No, no.) But the subject of the Cobden Club and the great name that is connected with it might form my excuse on the present occasion. It is now totally unnecessary that I should do more than assure you that during what may remain to me of political life I shall continue to feel the same

unfailing anxiety both for the personal fame of Mr. Cobden and the gratitude of the country to him for his distinguished services, and even more for the prevalence of the principles to which his life was devoted, and which, had he been spared, would have been still more efficaciously promoted. (Loud cheers.)

COBDEN CLUB.

LIST OF MEMBERS,

CORRECTED TO JULY, 1870.

—o—

The Club now consists of 383 ordinary members, of whom 173 are members of the Legislature. There are also 82 honorary members, most of whom are foreigners of distinction.

Names in Italics are those of Honorary Members.
** Present at the Annual Dinner.*

A.

1870 Adam, W. P., M.P.
1868 *Adams, C. F., U. S. America.*
1869 *Adams, J. Quincy, U. S. America.*
1869 Agnew, J. Henry.
1869 *Agnew, William
1867 Airlie, Earl of, K.T.
1866 Allen, W. Shepherd, M.P.
1866 Amberley, Viscount.
1867 *Andrew, Charles.

1870 Anning, James.
1870 Akroyd, Lieut.-Colonel Edward, M.P.
1867 Anstey, T. Chisholm.
1869 Anstruther, Sir Robert, Bart., M.P.
1866 Argyll, Duke of, K.T.
1867 *Arlès-Dufour, M., France.*
1866 *Armitage, Benjamin.
1868 Armitage, Sir Elkanah.
1867 *Armitstead, George, M.P.
1868 Ashton, Philip James.
1868 *Ashton, Robert.
1866 Ashton, Thomas.
1867 *Ashurst, Wm. Henry.
1866 Ashworth, G. L.
1869 *Atkinson, Edward, U. S. America.*
1868 Avison, Thomas.
1870 Ayrton, Right Hon. A. S., M.P.

B.

1869 Backhouse, Edmund, M.P.
1867 Barry, Right Hon. Charles R., Q.C.
1866 Bass, M. Arthur, M.P.
1866 Bass, M. T., M.P.
1867 *Bastard, Thomas Horlock.

1869 *Batchelor, T. B.
1866 Baxter, Richard.
1866 *Baxter, W. E., M.P.
1866 Bazley, Sir Thomas, Bart., M.P.
1867 *Beal, James.
1866 *Beales, Edmond.
1867 *Beaumont, Henry F., M.P.
1869 *Beaumont, Somerset A., M.P.
1868 Beaumont, W. B., M.P.
1869 *Beecher, Rev. Henry Ward, U. S. America.*
1870 *Benson, Robert.
1869 Bentall, E. H., M.P.
1870 *Besobrasoff, M. W., Russia.*
1866 **Bigelow, John, U. S. America.*
1870 *Benzon, E. L.
1870 *Bancroft, George, U. S. America.*
1870 Blewitt, William.
1869 *Bolckow, H. W. F., M.P.
1867 Bowen, Charles.
1768 Brady, Dr. John, M.P.
1867 Brand, Right Hon. H. B. W., M.P.
1869 Brand, Henry R., M.P.
1869 *Brassey, Henry A., M.P.
1866 Brassey, jun., Thomas, M.P.
1866 Bright, Jacob, M.P.

1866 *Bright, Right Hon John, M.P.*
1867 Bright, Sir Charles T.
1867 *Broadwater, Robert.
1866 *Brodrick, Hon. G. C.
1869 Brogden, Alexander, M.P.
1869 *Brown, Alexander Hargreaves, M.P.
1866 Bruce, Right Hon. H. Austin, M.P.
1869 *Bryant, W. C., U. S. America.*
1866 Buckley, Nathaniel.
1870 *Bullock, William Henry.
1870 Burchardt, Otto.
1866 Buxton, Charles, M.P.
1870 *Bunsen, George, Prussia.*
1870 Browning, Oscar.
1870 Brocklehurst, W. C., M.P.

C.

1870 *Carr, Jonathan T.
1866 *Caird, James, C.B.
1867 Caldicott, Rev. J. W.
1870 *Campbell, Henry, M.P.
1866 Candlish, John, M.P.
1868 *Carter, Samuel
1870 *Carter, R. M., M.P.

1869 *Cartwright, W. C., M.P.
1866 Cavendish, Lord Frederick, M.P.
1869 *Chadwick, David, M.P.
1866 Cheetham, John.
1866 Cheetham, J. F.
1866 *Chevalier, M. Michel, France.*
1866 Childers, Right Hon. Hugh C. E., M.P.
1867 Clement, W. J., M.P.
1866 Coleridge, Sir J. D., Q.C., M.P.
1866 Collier, Sir R P., Q.C., M.P.
1870 *Cobb, Rhodes.
1870 *Castelar, Ernilio, Spain.*
1870 *Coats, Sir Peter.
1870 *Clayden, P. W.
1867 Colman, J. J.
1867 Colvile, Charles Robert.
1869 Coote, Thomas.
1869 *Couvreur, M. Auguste, Belgium.*
1866 Cowen, Joseph, M.P.
1869 *Cracroft, Bernard.
1867 *Crompton, Charles.
1867 *Crooke, John.
1866 Crossley, Sir Francis, Bart., M.P.
1870 *Corsi, Signor Tommaso, Italy.*

D.

1869 *Dashwood, Capt. Fred. L.
1869 Davison, John Robert, Q.C., M.P.
1867 De Grey and Ripon, Earl, K.G.
1870 *Deheselle, M. Victor, Belgium.*
1869 *Delitsch, M. Schultze, Prussia.*
1870 *De Molinari, M. G., France.*
1867 Dilke, Sir C. W., Bart., M.P.
1868 Dixon, George, M.P.
1869 *Dodds, Joseph, M.P.
1866 Dodson, J. G., M.P.
1867 *Dolfus, M. Jean, France.*
1870 *Dowse, Richard, M.P.
1870 Ducie, Earl.
1866 Duff, M. E. Grant, M.P.
1870 Dufferin, Lord.
1869 *Dürckheim, Count, Austro-Hungarian Empire.*
1870 *Dymes, D. D.
1870 Delahunty, James, M.P.
1870 *Draper, John.
1870 Day, Edward.
1870 *Dalhousie, Earl of, G.C.B., K.T.
1870 *Dixon, James, Sweden.*

E.

1867 Eastwick, Captain W. J.
1868 *Edwards, Henry, M.P.
1868 Edwards, Charles.
1869 *Emerson, R. W., U. S. America.*
1866 *Evans, Francis Henry.
1866 *Evans, William.
1866 *Ewing, H. E. Crum, M.P.
1868 *Eykyn, Roger, M.P.

F.

1869 *Faucher, Dr. Julius, Prussia.*
1866 Fawcett, Professor Henry, M.P.
1867 Fenton, William.
1868 *Field, Cyrus, U. S. America.*
1869 *Field, David D., U. S. America.*
1869 *Figuerola, Signor, Spain.*
1866 Fildes, John.
1869 *Finnie, William, M.P.
1867 *Fisher, Richard C.
1868 Flower, E. F.
1867 *Forçade de la Roquette, M., France.*

1870 Fordyce, W. Dingwall, M.P.
1866 Forster, Charles, M.P.
1866 Forster, Right Hon. W. E., M.P.
1866 Fortescue, Right Hon. C. S., M.P.
1869 Fothergill, Richard, M.P.
1866 *Fowler, Robert.
1869 *Fowler, William, M.P.
1869 Freeman, Henry W.
1870 *Fletcher, Isaac, M.P.
1870 Fenwick, E. M.

G.

1868 *Garibaldi, General, Italy.*
1869 *Garfield, General J. A., U. S. America.*
1869 *Garrison, W. Lloyd, U. S. America.*
1869 Gibbs, Frederick, W., C.B.
1866 Gilpin, Charles, M.P.
1870 *Gillibrand, Philip.
1866 **Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E., M.P.*
1866 Gladstone, Robertson.
1870 Glyn, Hon. G. Grenfell, M.P.
1866 Goldsmid, Sir Francis H., Bart., M.P.
1866 Goldsmid, Julian, M.P.
1866 Göschen, Right Hon. G. J., M.P.

1869 Gourley, E. T., M.P.
1868 *Gow, Daniel.
1866 Graham, William, M.P.
1870 Gaskell, Charles Milnes.
1867 Graham, John.
1867 *Graham, Peter.
1866 Granville, Earl, K.G.
1867 Gray, Sir John, M.P.
1869 Greville, Lord.
1870 Greg, Louis.
1870 Guest, Montague J., M.P.
1870 *Greig, Lieut.-General, S. Prussia.*

H.

1866 Hadfield, George, M.P.
1867 Hammond, J. Lemprière.
1866 Hardcastle, J. A., M.P.
1866 Hardcastle, Henry.
1867 Harris, John Dove, M.P.
1869 Harcourt, W. Vernon, Q.C., M.P.
1870 Hartington, Right Hon. Marquis of, M.P.
1869 Harwood, Samuel.
1870 *Hatch, Rev. Edwin.
1867 *Hatchard, Rev. J. Alton.

1870 *Hatherley, Lord.
1869 Haviland-Burke, E., M.P.
1867 *Heape, Robert Taylor.
1867 *Heape, Benjamin.
1866 Henderson, J., M.P.
1866 Heywood, James.
1870 *Harris, William Redford.
1870 Hargreaves, William.
1866 Hibbert, J. T., M.P.
1866 Hoare, Sir Henry, Bart., M.P.
1870 Hobart, Lord.
1866 *Hodgkinson, G., M.P.
1866 *Holden, Isaac.
1869 *Holms, John, M.P.
1870 *Hopwood, Charles Henry.
1869 *Hoskyns, Chandos Wren, M.P.
1866 *Houghton, Lord.
1869 *Howard, James, M.P.
1869 *Hudson, Sir James, G.C.B.*
1867 *Humphreys, A. C.
1870 *Hunting, Richard.
1870 *Holden, Angus.
1870 *Hoyle, William.
1870 *Holland, Samuel, M.P.

I.

1869 *Illingworth, Alfred, M.P.

J.

1866 Jackson, Henry Mather.
1866 Jackson, Sir William, Bart.
1866 Jeffery, J. R.
1868 Jenkins, Edward.
1869 Jessel, George, Q.C., M.P.
1869 *Johnson, Reverdy, U. S. America.*
1869 *Johnston, Andrew, M.P.
1870 *Johns, Captain J. W.
1870 James, Henry, Q.C., M.P.
1870 Jerrold, Blanchard.

K.

1868 *Kay-Shuttleworth, U. J., M.P.
1870 Kimberley, Earl.
1866 King, Hon. P. J. Locke, M.P.
1869 *Kinsky, Count Eugène, Austro-Hungarian Empire.*

1866 Knatchbull-Hugessen, E. H., M.P.
1869 *Kübeck, Baron Max Von, Austro-Hungarian Empire.*
1870 King, Charles Allen.

L.

1868 Labouchere, Henry.
1869 *Lacaita, Sir James.*
1869 *Lack, Henry Reader.
1867 *Lambert, John.
1870 Lamport, Charles.
1869 *Lavergne, M. de, France.*
1867 Lancaster, John, M.P.
1868 Lanyon, C. Mortimer.
1869 **Laveleye, M. Emile de, Belgium.*
1866 *Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., M.P.
1867 Lawson, Right Hon. J. A.
1867 *Lean, Vincent Stuckey.
1869 *Leake, Robert.
1866 *Leatham, E. A., M.P.
1869 *Leavitt, Joshua, D.D., U. S. America.*
1866 *Leeman, George.
1869 Leese, J. F.
1866 Lefevre, Geo. Shaw, M.P.

1870 *Lehardy de Beaulieu, Professor Ch., Belgium.*
1870 *Lehardy de Beaulieu, Adolphe, Belgium.*
1867 Leslie, T. E. Cliffe.
1869 Levy, Edward.
1870 Lewis, J. Delaware, M.P.
1870 *Lieber, Francis, U. S. America.*
1869 *Liebert, Bernhard.
1869 Lloyd, Sir Thomas Davies, Bart., M.P.
1869 Loch, George, M.P.
1870 *Longfellow, H. W., U. S. America.*
1870 Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P.
1870 *Lehmann, F.
1870 Lycett, Sir Francis.
1870 *Lesseps, Vicomte de, France.*

M.

1870 *Marling, Samuel S., M.P.
1870 *Mather, William.
1870 *Marcoartu, Signor Arturo de.
1870 *Maeren, M. Corr-Vander, Belgium.*
1869 McArthur, Alexander.
1869 McArthur, William, M.P.
1868 Macaulay, C. Z.
1869 Macfie, Robert Andrew, M.P.

1869 *Mackay, Baron, Holland.*
1868 Mackie, Ivie.
1870 McClean, J. Robinson, M.P.
1866 *McClelland, James.
1869 McClure, Thomas, M.P.
1869 *Macmillan, Alexander.
1866 Mallet, Sir Louis, C.B.
1867 *Marriott, Wm. Thackeray.
1867 *Marsden, Mark Eagles.
1866 Mason, Hugh.
1867 Melly, George, M.P.
1866 *Menzies, Graham.
1870 Meredith, George F.
1870 *Macintosh, Alexander.
1870 McCarthy, Justin.
1867 Merry, James, M.P.
1870 *Mitchell, T., Russia.*
1866 Mill, John Stuart.
1866 Milner-Gibson, Right Hon. T.
1867 Milton, Viscount, M.P.
1866 Moffatt, George.
1866 *Monk, C. J., M.P.
1868 Moore, George.
1869 *Moore, Joseph.
1868 *Moran, Benjamin, U. S. America.*

1870 *Morgan, G. Osborne, M.P.
1866 Morier, R. B. D., C.B.
1866 Morley, Samuel, M.P.
1867 Murphy, Nicholas D., M.P.
1869 Mundella, A. J., M.P.
1869 Muntz, P. Henry, M.P.
1869 Muspratt, E. K.
1870 *Morão, F. F. de Figanière, Portugal.*
1870 *Minghetti, Signor Marco, Italy.*

N.

1869 *Napoleon, H.I.H. Prince Jerome, France.*
1868 Neill, Robert.
1870 Northbrook, Lord.
1868 Novelli, A. H.

O.

1866 O'Donoghue, The, M.P.
1869 *Ollivier, M. Emile, France.*
1866 *O'Loghlen, Right Hon. Sir Colman, Bart., M.P.
1866 Onslow, Guildford, M.P.
1869 O'Reilly-Dease, Mathew, M.P.
1869 *Osborn, Wm. H., U. S. America.*

1868 Osborn, Captain S., R.N., C.B.
1866 Otway, Arthur J., M.P.
1870 Overbeck, M. Augustus Von, Austria.

P.

1870 *Paris, H.R.H. Comte de, France.*
1867 Pagan, John Thomson.
1866 Paulton, A. W.
1867 *Payne, F. T.
1867 Pease, Joseph W., M.P.
1869 Peel, Arthur W., M.P.
1866 *Pennington, F.
1866 Peto, Sir S. Morton, Bart.
1868 *Phillips, Charles.
1866 Philips, R. N., M.P.
1866 Pilkington, James.
1866 Platt, John, M.P.
1869 *Playfair, Dr. Lyon, M.P.
1869 Plimsoll, Samuel, M.P.
1869 *Pochin, Henry Davis.
1866 Pollard-Urquhart, W., M.P.
1866 Pope Samuel.
1870 *Paterson, John.
1870 *Pocock, William.

1866 Potter, Edmund, M.P.
1868 Potter, Edmund Crompton.
1866 Potter, J. Gerald.
1866 *Potter, T. Bayley, M.P.
1866 Potter, Thomas Ashton.
1869 Price, William Edwin, M.P.
1866 Price, W. P., M.P.
1866 Probyn, J. W.
1870 Potter, John Henry.

R.

1870 *Rances y Villanueva, His Excellency, Spain.*
1870 Rae, W. Fraser.
1867 Rathbone, Samuel Greg.
1867 Rathbone, William, M.P.
1866 Rawson, Henry.
1869 *Redpath, James, U. S. America.*
1867 *Reynolds, James.
1870 *Reyntiens, M., Belgium.*
1866 Rich, Anthony.
1869 *Richard, Henry, M.P.
1869 Richards, E. M., M.P.
1869 *Richter, O., Norway.*
1868 *Robertson, David, M.P.

1867 *Robinson, John.
1869 *Roden, W. S., M.P.
1866 *Rogers, Professor J. E. T.
1870 Rollo, Lord.
1870 *Robarts, C. N.
1867 *Rouher, M., France.*
1867 Roundell, Charles Savile.
1866 *Russell, Earl, K.G.*
1866 *Rutson, Albert.
1869 Rylands, Peter, M.P.
1867 Ryley, Thomas C.
1870 *Ruggles, Samuel B., U. S. America.*

S.

1870 Seymour, Alfred, M.P.
1870 Schuster, Francis J.
1866 Salwey, Colonel Henry.
1869 Salomons, Sir David, Bart., M.P.
1868 *Samuda, J. D'Aguilar, M.P.
1870 Samuelson, Henry B., M.P.
1866 Sandwith, Humphrey, C.B.
1869 *Sapieha, Prince, Austro-Hungarian Empire.*
1870 *Saxton, N.

1869 *Schaeffer, Chevalier de, Austro-Hungarian Empire.
1866 *Scrivens, William.
1868 *Seligman, Isaac.
1869 *Seely, Jun., Charles, M.P.
1867 *Shaen, William.
1869 *Sharpe, Charles.
1869 Shaw, Richard, M.P.
1868 Sheriff, Alexander Clunes, M.P.
1867 Sidgwick, Rev. W. C.
1870 *St. Albans, Duke of.
1870 Sargeaunt, William E.
1870 *Sellar, A. C.
1870 *Sands, Maulon, U. S. America.*
1869 *Simon, Sergeant, Q.C., M.P.
1870 *Simon, M. Jules, France.*
1869 *Smith, Herr Prince, Prussia.*
1866 Smith, B. L.
1866 Smith, Professor Goldwin.
1867 *Smith, Professor Henry J. Stephen.
1866 *Smith, Thomas Eustace, M.P.
1870 Spencer, His Excellency Earl, K.G.
1866 Stansfeld, Right Hon. J., M.P.
1868 Steinthal, Rev. Samuel Alfred.
1868 Stern, Sigismund J.

1868 *Stepney, W. F. Cowell.
1869 Stevenson, J. C., M.P.
1867 Sullivan, Right Hon. E.
1868 *Sumner, Charles, U. S. America.*
1866 *Sykes, Colonel, M.P.
1869 *Szechenyi, Count Bela, Austro-Hungarian Empire.*
1870 Strahan, Alexander.
1870 *Seisal, His Excellency Vicomte de, Portugal.*

T.

1870 *Talabot, M. Paulin, France.*
1870 *Tourqueneff, M. Niedas, France.*
1866 *Taylor, Francis.
1866 *Taylor, P. A., M.P.
1866 Thomasson, Thomas.
1867 Thompson, George.
1866 Thompson, H. Yates.
1869 Thurlow, Hon. T. H.
1869 Tite, Sir William, M.P.
1866 Trelawney, Sir J. S., Bart., M.P.
1866 Trevelyan, G. O., M.P.
1867 Trimble, Robert.
1868 *Turner, J. Fox.

1868 *Turner, Wright.
1868 *Tweedale, John.
1870 Thomas, Christopher J.

V.

1866 *Villiers, Right Hon. C. P., M.P.*
1870 *Vickers, James.
1870 Valpy, Richard.
1870 *Vivian, William.
1870 *Vivian, Jun., William.

W.

1870 *Walker, Amasa, U. S. America.*
1869 *Walker, George, U. S. America.*
1866 Walters, Edward.
1867 Watts, Sir James.
1867 Watts, Samuel.
1870 *Wells, David A., U. S. America.*
1866 Westhead, J. P. Brown, M.P.
1869 *Whipple, E. P., U. S. America.*
1870 *Whitbread, Samuel, M.P.
1866 *White, J., M.P.
1867 *Whiteley, G. Crispe.

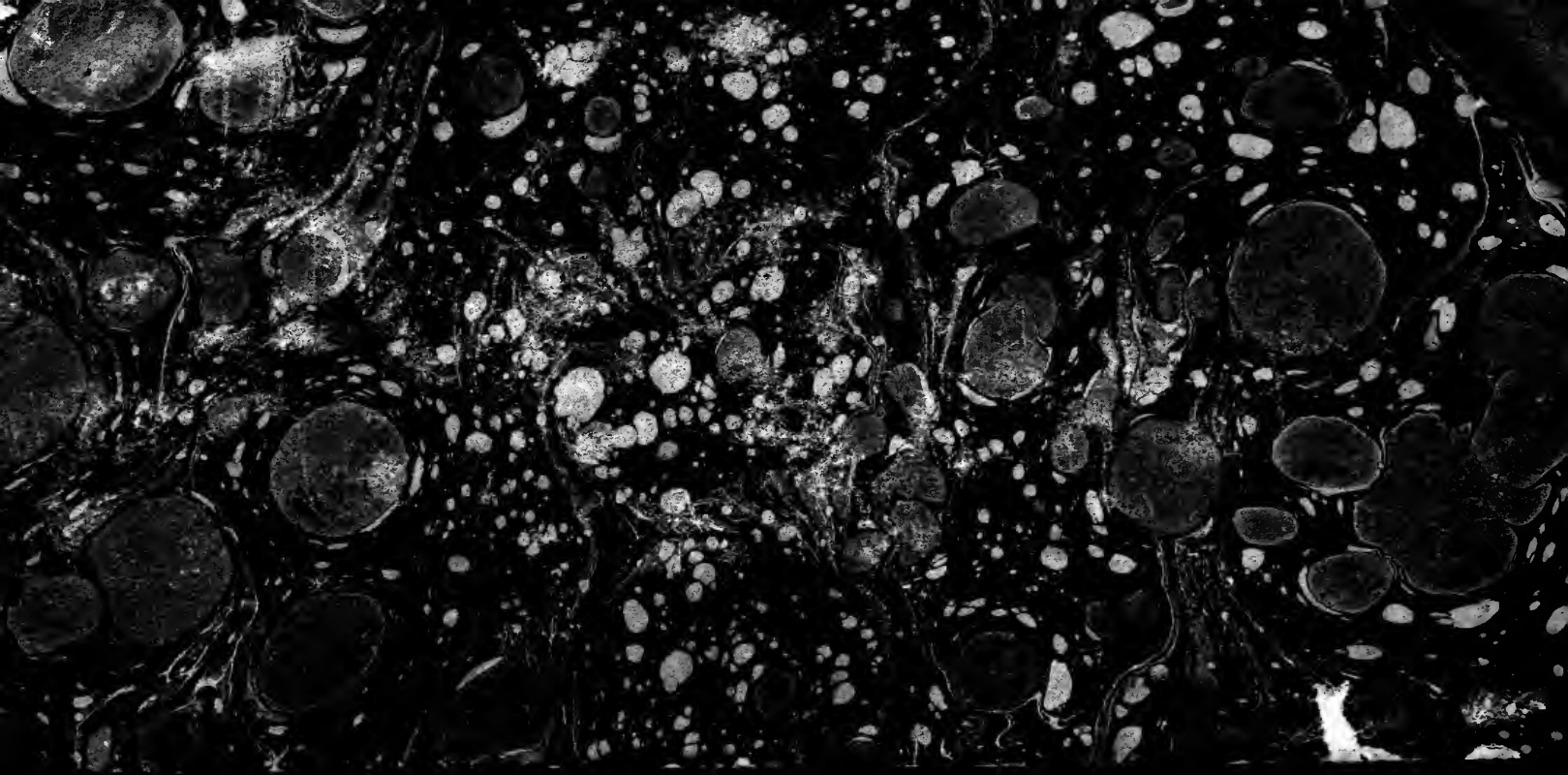
1869 *Whitwell, John, M.P.
1866 *Whitworth, Benjamin.
1867 *Whitworth, Sir Joseph, Bart.
1870 Whitworth, Robert.
1869 Whitworth, Thomas, M.P.
1870 *Wilke, Hermann C., Consul-General, North Germany.*
1870 *Watson, T. Clemens.
1870 White, Wm. Thompson.
1870 *Warren, Edward.
1869 *Willans, Thomas Benjamin.
1869 *Willans, W. H.
1867 *Willett, Henry.
1866 Williams, John.
1869 Williams, Watkin, M.P.
1869 Wilmott, Henry.
1866 *Wilson, George.*
1870 Woods, Henry, M.P.
1869 *Wolowski, M., France.*
1868 Worthington, James.
1870 *Willardin, Theodore, Sweden.*
1870 *Wills, George.

Y.

1866 *Young, Richard.

1870 Young, Right Hon. George, M.P.

Guests present at the Dinner:

Baron Melvil de Lynden, Cyrus M. Fisher, United States; Signor Bosch, Captain Gosset, deputy Sergeant-at-arms; Mr. White, Mr. White, jun.

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